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SENSITIVE

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SUBJECT: NKUNDA PUSHES FOR ACTION ON AMANI, NAIROBI

**¶1.** (SBU) Summary: At a meeting in Kitchanga (Masisi Territory) on May 17, Laurent Nkunda told U.S. Goma Rep and Facilitation members that he wants to be fully involved in the success of the Amani Program, that the Kinshasa government is moving too slowly on amnesty legislation and financial support for the Goma process, and that the U.S. should be "more visible" in implementing the Nairobi Communique and the Goma Agreement. Nkunda was in Kitchanga for "sensitization" (awareness campaign) and was speaking especially to IDP's who had been displaced from the area, of whom (he says) about 30% (around 12,000) have now returned. He pushed for the immediate staffing of implementation cells at the provincial level to prepare for disengagement and "brassage," and said he was ready immediately to clear land at Kimoka for the meeting center/peace camp. He had derisive words for President Kabila, PARECO and the FARDC, but did not raise the sensitive topic of Bosco, and was for the most part relaxed and congenial. End summary.

Saturday House Call

**¶2.** (SBU) Nkunda had called U.S. Goma Rep Nicholas Jenks on May 13, and requested a meeting at Kilolirwe on May 17. Jenks invited the Facilitation to come along, but logistical errors and poor communications delayed the mission, which Nkunda finally directed to Kitchanga. He was gracious and inclusive, raising issues tailored to the full Facilitation: Jan Edward Craanen (Dutch Special Envoy), LTC Jean-Luc Covolan (EUSEC), Niklas Bennwik (Sweden), Archibald Moiwo (MONUC), and Jenks and Jim Panos (U.S. Goma Office). CNDP's humanitarian coordinator, Dr. Alexi, and political cadres Kambasu and Betrand and Major Seraphin flanked the Chairman.

Organizing on the Ground

**¶3.** (SBU) Nkunda said he was satisfied with the CNDP's active sensitization that brought him to Kitchanga at the head of a march of 30,000 people a few days ago. This bore no resemblance to the tame "sensitization" of actual CNDP troops that Facilitation reps observed last week in Mushaki, Mutanda and Bihamwe, but Nkunda's vision of the Goma process heavily implicates the civilian population. He said that the main obstacles to IDP return are: (1) roadblocks (GDRC/FARDC does not want them to return); (2) hostile propaganda from the GDRC; and (3) PARECO (which does not want them to return either). For these reasons Nkunda is creating "comites de base" incorporating both returning IDP's and the local population, to facilitate their reinsertion.

**¶4.** (SBU) Nkunda is impatient that the provincial cells provided for by the JTCPS Commission are not yet remotely functional, and said that they need to be stood up immediately to start doing their jobs. His version of the cells differs from the simple "execution" role that the Commission talked about for the provincial commissions and their dependent "cells." He envisages empowered cells that feed information and recommendations up to the JTCPS, and do the real work on the ground; he even intends to lead one of the cells, so far

unspecified. By his own admission, this activism is compensation for his physical absence from Goma that security conditions dictate.

#### His Enemies

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¶15. (SBU) Nkunda freely cites examples of the hostility surrounding him on the eve of disengagement. Most obvious to him is FARDC-FDLR collaboration, and the fact that the GDRC "had troops to attack me, but never the FDLR," and the contention that the troops going to Walikale stopped in Hombo, a known FDLR center, and spent several nights there undisturbed. CNDP charges that the Kinshasa government is "not engaged," is not giving Amani enough money, and retains political prisoners in jail while the parliament takes its time in debating and enacting an amnesty law that will allow the movement's members to circulate freely and prepare for brassage and reinsertion.

¶16. (SBU) Nkunda at one point tore into Kabila, calling him a kid who only knows how to lash out, had hit Bemba even with ambassadors in the house, strikes people in Bas Congo for no defensible reason, and of course targets Nkunda himself. He said that going to Kisangani while FDLR are running around the DRC with arms is not an option. If they were disarmed, even not repatriated but neutralized and held in a camp somewhere, his attitude might be different.

¶17. (SBU) Nkunda cited one reported example of nefarious PARECO-FDLR collaboration. The FDLR reportedly told Mugabo (PARECO/Hutu faction) that it wanted PARECO to make sure that the FARDC did not deploy in Loashi or Kibua; both of these are important military

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centers for the FDLR, and PARECO reportedly did so.

#### Private Grief and Public Complaints

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¶18. (SBU) The Chairman talked about 50 members of his family who were killed en masse in the mid 1990's. He also talked about his son who suffered machete blows to the head that led to traumatic epilepsy. He said that before the FDLR came to Congo, there were no real problems being a Tutsi in the DRC. There was certainly harassment, but never killing. Since 1994, things have been different, and in Nkunda's words, it is open season on the Tutsis.

¶19. (SBU) Nkunda believes that it is very important to begin construction on the Kimoka meeting site/peace camp. Once it is established, he will be able to go to Kimoka and participate in the Amani process, even without an amnesty law and with an arrest warrant still over his head. In addition, it can be a place for the JTCPS to work. He thinks a simple installation will do, with tents, latrines, a water pump and generator. It can and should be set up expeditiously. He offered to bring a battalion to Kimoka to help clear the site.

¶10. (SBU) He and others complained about the Sake road-block. Numerous CNDP cadres have been stopped at this roadblock and detained. Kambasu had to call Colonel Delfin to get released on one occasion, and there was an incident in which a civilian rode a horse from Kirolirwe down to Sake, and the horse and rider were detained illegally by the FARDC. This roadblock and another on the Rutshuru road are overdue for removal, he said. (Note: U.S. facilitation, en route to Kimoka tomorrow, will check out this roadblock, which Gen Mayala says is not a FARDC but rather a municipality roadblock. End note).

#### The Partners' Roles

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¶11. (SBU) The U.S. Goma Rep updated Nkunda on the status of the Kalonge investigation and Canada's possible role in it, and also talked about Rewards for Justice, the upcoming UNSC sanctions resolution, and donors training the RRF. Nkunda acknowledged that these were positive moves, but refrained from discussing them.

¶12. (SBU) After the group meeting Nkunda commented separately to Jenks that "the U.S. is a country with soul, whereas the Europeans are more attached to their economic interests. The Europeans are playing two agendas in the Goma/Nairobi processes, and trying to bring the Americans along unwittingly." He said that he would have preferred to meet with Jenks alone, to talk over some ideas for making the U.S. role more visible. Jenks replied that the U.S. is in lock step with the Europeans on Goma and Nairobi, and would not deviate. He understood the point, and said that that was indeed the way to go, but that it would also be good if the U.S. were "more visible."

¶13. (SBU) Comment: This was an engaged, helpful and rational Nkunda. It is clear that one of his intentions was to tell the Facilitation that CNDP was taking sensitization and the Amani process seriously. His plan to lead one of the North Kivu "cells" is a surprise and a fascinating one. It also points up the need to establish Kimoka as soon as possible, despite resistance to this idea within MONUC that must be overcome. CNDP did show their positive engagement in this meeting, and they clearly expect the GDRC and the Facilitation to reciprocate on their parts of the deal.

End comment.

GARVELINK